

INCOMING TELEGRAM

## Department of State

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Action

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Info

FROM: BONN

TO: Secretary of State

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10436

DECEMBER 17, 1958

11:31 PM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1958 DEC 17 10 08 AM

SECTION ONE OF TWO

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NO: 1295, DECEMBER 17, 7 PM (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

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FOLLOWING SURVEY RESULTS (BASED ON 775 CASES REPRESENTATIVE OF WEST GERMANY COLLECTED DECEMBER 7-11) REFLECT CURRENT POPULAR ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE BERLIN SITUATION.

1. WHAT DO YOU THINK WILL DEVELOP FROM THE SOVIET PROPOSAL TO CHANGE THE STATUS OF BERLIN? (OPEN QUESTION)

USIA

CIA

OSD

ARMY

NAVY

AIR

NIC

SUMMARY TABLE

ANSWERS SUGGESTING RUSSIAN SUCCESS

(16 PERCENT)

BERLIN WILL BE SWALLOWED BY THE RUSSIANS 14  
ALL OF GERMANY WILL BECOME COMMUNIST 2

ANSWERS SUGGESTING WESTERN SUCCESS

(16 PERCENT)

THE WEST WILL OPPOSE IT. THEY WILL NOT WITHDRAW. 11  
RUSSIA WILL NOT SUCCEED. IT WILL GIVE IN. 3  
RUSSIA IS ONLY BLUFFING. IT ONLY TRIES TO SEE HOW FAR IT CAN GO. 2

ANSWERS NOT INDICATING WHO WILL WIN

(69 PERCENT)

NOTHING WILL CHANGE. THINGS WILL STAY AS THEY ARE. 15

THERE WILL BE A (COLD) WAR, STRIFE, CONFLICTS, ETC. 9

THERE WILL BE DISCUSSIONS. 5

MISCELLANEOUS

PERMANENT

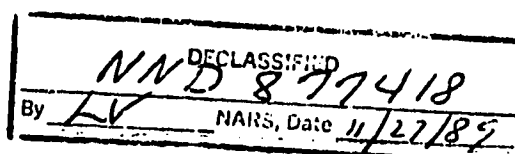
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MISCELLANEOUS ANSWERS  
NO OPINION, NO ANSWER.

6  
34

100 PERCENT

2. HOW SERIOUS IS THE SITUATION OVER BERLIN NOW? (CARD)

VERY SERIOUS; FATE OF WEST BERLIN IS AT STAKE. 38 PERCENT

SOMEWHAT SERIOUS; BUT NOT ENDANGERING PRESENT STATUS OF WEST BERLIN. 27 PERCENT

NOT PARTICULARLY SERIOUS; IT WILL BLOW OVER. 24 PERCENT

NOT AT ALL SERIOUS; IT IS JUST A LOT OF TALK. 5 PERCENT

DON'T KNOW. 14 PERCENT

100 PERCENT

& SOME RESPONDENTS GAVE MORE THAN ONE ANSWER.

3. WHAT SHOULD THE WESTERN POWERS DO ABOUT BERLIN? (CARD)

DEAL WITH THE DDR IN ORDER TO STAY IN BERLIN. 24 PERCENT

REFUSE TO DEAL WITH DDR - USING FORCE TO STAY DESPITE THE RISKS INVOLVED. 12 PERCENT

REFUSE TO DEAL WITH DDR AND SUPPLY ALLIED BERLIN GARRISONS BY AIR. 9 PERCENT

WITHDRAW ALLIED TROOPS FROM BERLIN. 2 PERCENT

THEY SHOULD LET THE U. N. TAKE OVER WEST BERLIN. 28 PERCENT

DON'T KNOW. 25 PERCENT

100 PERCENT

4. WHAT DO YOU

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4. WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE BEST THING THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC SHOULD DO FOR WEST BERLIN? (CARD) (WHAT ELSE?)

	BEST:	NEXT:
CUT OFF TRADE WITH EAST GERMANY SUCH AS COAL, STEEL DELIVERIES.	8 PERCENT	4 PERCENT
EXERT POLITICAL PRESSURE THROUGH THE WESTERN POWERS.	7 PERCENT	8 PERCENT
APPEAL TO THE U.N.	23 PERCENT	20 PERCENT
USE THE BUNDESWEHR.	1 PERCENT	2 PERCENT
CALL ON NATO FOR MILITARY HELP.	4 PERCENT	10 PERCENT
THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC CANNOT DO ANYTHING SINCE IT IS UP TO THE WESTERN POWERS.	33 PERCENT	17 PERCENT
DON'T KNOW	24 PERCENT	39 PERCENT
	100 PERCENT	100 PERCENT

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DECEMBER 17, 1958  
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SS

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5. WHAT DO YOU THINK THE SOVIETS ACTUALLY WANT TO ACHIEVE WITH THEIR PROPOSALS? (CARD)

G

SP

C

IO

INR

H

F

IRC

GET THE WEST OUT OF BERLIN AND LATER ABSORB IT INTO THE DDR.

44 PERCENT

KEEP THE WEST OFF BALANCE AND IN A CRISIS SITUATION.

14 PERCENT

WANT TO FORCE RECOGNITION OF THE DDR BY THE WEST.

14 PERCENT

USIA

CIA

OSD

ARMY

NAVY

AIR

NIC

FORCE WEST TO AGREE TO A GENERAL FOUR POWER CONFERENCE IN A SITUATION ADVANTAGEOUS TO THE SOVIETS.

5 PERCENT

USE BERLIN TO FORCE WESTERN ACCEPTANCE OF A SOLUTION TO THE GERMAN PROBLEM ON SOVIET TERMS.

11 PERCENT

DON'T KNOW.

20 PERCENT

108 PERCENT

& SOME RESPONDENTS GAVE MORE THAN ONE ANSWER.

6. IN VIEW OF SOVIET ANNOUNCEMENTS ABOUT BERLIN, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING POINTS DO YOU THINK THEY ARE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT? AND HOW ABOUT THE WESTERN POWERS? (CARD)

SOVIETS:

WESTERN POWERS:

REUNIFICATION

4 PERCENT

62 PERCENT

GERMAN PEACE

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PERMANENT

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GERMAN PEACE TREATY WITHOUT REUNIFI-  
CATION.

22 PERCENT 7 PERCENT

STATUS OF BERLIN.

13 PERCENT 15 PERCENT

DEMILITARIZED BELT IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

27 PERCENT 3 PERCENT

NOTHING.

32 PERCENT 7 PERCENT

OTHERS.

4 PERCENT 4 PERCENT

DON'T KNOW.

14 PERCENT 14 PERCENT

116 PERCENT 112 PERCENT

& SOME RESPONDENTS GAVE MORE THAN ONE ANSWER.

7. SUPPOSE THE WEST REJECTS THE SOVIET PROPOSALS, WHAT IN  
YOUR OPINION WILL HAPPEN THEN? (OPEN QUESTION)

SUMMARY TABLE

EXPECTATIONS OF TROUBLE.

(29 PERCENT)

THERE WILL BE STRIFE, UNREST, WAR.

18

THE RUSSIANS WILL OCCUPY ALL OF BERLIN.

8

THERE WILL BE ANOTHER BLOCKADE OF BERLIN.

3

NO EXPECTATIONS OF TROUBLE.

(41 PERCENT)

NOTHING WILL CHANGE.

22

THE RUSSIANS WILL GIVE IN.

7

THERE WILL BE DISCUSSIONS, CONFERENCES.

6

THE WESTERN POWERS WILL STAY ON.

1

RUSSIA IS ONLY BLUFFING.

1

MISCELLANEOUS ANSWERS.

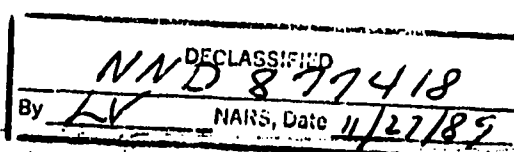
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NO ANSWER, NO OPINION

(30 PERCENT)

100 PERCENT

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100 PERCENT

8. VARIOUS PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN MADE RECENTLY AS TO HOW GERMAN REUNIFICATION SHOULD BE ACHIEVED. WOULD YOU, PLEASE TELL ME FOR EACH OF THE THREE FOLLOWING PROPOSALS, WHETHER YOU AGREE WITH IT OR NOT?

A) THE FOUR GREAT POWERS SHOULD RELEASE THE TWO PARTS OF GERMANY FROM THEIR (RESPECTIVE) MILITARY PACT SYSTEMS SO THAT A REUNITED GERMANY MAY BE INCLUDED IN A SECURITY PACT SYSTEM GUARANTEED BY THEM.

FAVOR	42 PERCENT
OPPOSE	21 PERCENT
DON'T KNOW	37 PERCENT
	100 PERCENT

B) WEST GERMANY SHALL CONTINUE TO ARM WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO ENTER INTO PROMISING NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AT A SUITABLE MOMENT.

FAVOR	23 PERCENT
OPPOSE	42 PERCENT
DON'T KNOW	35 PERCENT
	100 PERCENT

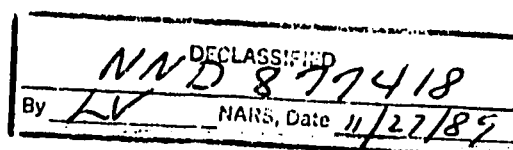
C) THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (EAST ZONE) SHALL WORK OUT PROPOSALS FOR THE CREATION AND ORGANIZATION OF A FUTURE ALL-GERMANY, WHICH WILL THEN BE SUBMITTED TO THE FOUR GREAT POWERS FOR APPROVAL.

FAVOR	39 PERCENT
OPPOSE	24 PERCENT

DON'T KNOW.

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DON'T KNOW 37 PERCENT

100 PERCENT

9. DO YOU BELIEVE THE WESTERN POWERS ARE STRONGER THAN RUSSIA IN THE AREA OF ATOMIC WEAPONS, ARE THEY WEAKER, OR ARE THEY EQUALLY STRONG?

WEST IS WEAKER 17 PERCENT

WEST IS STRONGER 19 PERCENT

BOTH EQUALLY AS STRONG 43 PERCENT

DON'T KNOW 21 PERCENT

100 PERCENT

ADDITIONAL INTERVIEWS BEING COLLECTED. BY DECEMBER 20 WILL BE 2,000 CASES, INCLUDING WEST BERLIN. COMPARISON WEST BERLIN AND FEDERAL REPUBLIC REACTIONS SHOULD BE AVAILABLE BY END DECEMBER.

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